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responsible for the incredible spectacle of a country like Russia, or China, or Japan spending millions in preparation for wars which ought never and need never come, while millions of their men, women and children are crying for a crust of bread. And yet, with unspeakable levity and criminal disregard for the terrible lessons of the past, Americans are actually proposing to celebrate the birth of this nation by making the international Exposition at Jamestown primarily a great military and naval pageant, glorifying from beginning to end what are called in the program, in ghastly irony, "the splendors of war." I rejoice, as all patriotic Americans must do, that a ringing protest has been sounded from the midst of the Exposition's own advisory board. I rejoice that a score of the bishops of the Episcopal Church have earnestly endorsed this protest against a program which one of their number has rightly called "unworthy of a Christian nation." From every pulpit and every newspaper in the land should come a strong Amen! With what power, in this Longfellow centennial time, sound in our ears these lines of the great poet in his poem on the Springfield Arsenal:

"Were half the power that fills the earth with terror,  
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,  
Given to redeem the human mind from error,  
There were no need of arsenals or forts."

True, "we the people" have done something to prepare the way for the mitigation of this international curse, by favoring the establishment of the Hague tribunal and an international parliament. But we have not done half enough. "We the people" have not made our national representatives feel half enough that this problem of international justice and international disarmament must be solved, in the interest of ourselves, of our children, of our country, of humanity. We have not demanded this in the name of reason, of common sense, of morality, of religion, as the first duty of our statesmen to their country and to the world, and the first duty of our country to the great family of sister nations.

For our own sakes, and for the sake of humanity, we must do everything in our power as individuals and as a nation to establish a supreme court of international justice, so that right, and not might, shall prevail. Then disarmament can and will follow, and an international police force will replace the hostile armies and navies of to-day. Happily we have, almost unconsciously, been trying a typical experiment, which proves to ourselves and to the world what can be done, and ought to be done, and must be done in this matter. For, as the President of Harvard University recently pointed out, the United States and Canada have avoided all the waste and dangers of international armaments by a very simple agreement, which has lasted for ninety years. This is the agreement made after the war of 1812, restricting the armaments of the United States and Canada on the Great Lakes to the insignificant little gun-boats used for police duty. God grant that this experiment may be prophetic of what is coming to all the great nations of the world!

Meanwhile let us do our duty for the starving millions, who cannot wait,—and whose lives can be bought at the rate of five dollars each! For the love of God, buy all you can! Unhappily, Russia is not the only famine-stricken country in the great family of nations. I do

not know which country is in the worst plight, Russia or China. These are our neighbors, our sister nations in God's family of nations. Help and sympathy is their just due. We must not shirk our duty or neglect our opportunity. They are our near neighbors. Money can be telegraphed and made available at once. They are our powerful neighbors. Both Russia and China are giant nations waking from sleep and passing through the throes of a revolution which will give them a new and more important role in international history. To come generously to their rescue and bind them to us now with bonds of sympathy and gratitude will be more help and protection to our nation in the future than battleships, torpedo boats and submarines. I wish our Congress were wise enough to vote the price of a battleship for the relief of both Russia and China — and cut down our prospective navy by that amount. Such a generous and courageous example might be the beginning of a new epoch of international justice, goodwill and disarmament.

## The Cost of War.

(Continued.)

It is impossible to secure statistics which will enable one to estimate closely the aggregate money cost of the many "little" wars, of which the nineteenth century was so full, the South and Central American conflicts, the South African Colonial wars, the Opium wars, the Egyptian, Soudan, Congo, Madagascar, Hawaiian, Samoan, East Indian, Thibet, West Indian and others, reference to which has been made above. But the sums consumed in these wars have certainly mounted up into the billions. In six years of these "little" wars — the Chitral (1895), the Ashanti (1895 to 1896), the Mashonaland and Matabeleland (1896 to 1897), the Soudan (1896 to 1899), North-west India (1897 to 1898), etc. — Great Britain used up \$50,000,000. And Great Britain alone had more than eighty of these wars during the century, or an average of nearly one a year for the whole hundred years. On these she must have spent not much less than \$1,000,000,000. If we should add to this sum what France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium and Denmark have spent in similar enterprises, what the South and Central-American wars have consumed, and the expenses of the other expeditions and conflicts of this kind in different parts of the world, the sum total would be not less than three billions of dollars, and probably much nearer five billions.

Forty thousand millions of dollars is a sum so vast that the mention of it leaves only a confused impression upon the mind; but that is about what the nations have paid in solid cash in *a single century* for the folly and wickedness of their quarrels and fightings, their mutual injustices and slaughters. But this is not by any means the whole of the huge "butcher's bill," as we shall see.

### COST IN DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.

If it is difficult to determine with even approximate accuracy the cost of war in direct money outlay, it is still harder to ascertain the waste which it occasions through immediate destruction of property. Here almost no figures are available. General Sherman estimated that property to the amount of at least three hundred millions

of dollars was destroyed outright by his army during the march to the sea. In all the districts where the campaigns of the war were carried on, especially in the early part of it, before Lieber's rules were put into force, and where the famous raids were made, there was much inevitable destruction of property — crops, fences, railroads, timber, bridges, buildings in city and country, horses, cattle, sheep, poultry, and what-not. Only omniscience could bring together and tabulate the losses thus caused during the four years of the great civil struggle. On the sea the destruction of commerce by the Southern cruisers built and fitted out in English ports was widespread and serious. Great Britain paid for this loss, as the result of the Alabama arbitration, \$15,500,000. The indirect losses to our commerce, which were kept out of the arbitration, were estimated by Lord Granville at over four billions of dollars. Besides this, there was, of course, much direct destruction of property through the operations of the fleets about the Southern coasts. It is altogether probable that the loss to the nation as a whole, North and South, in these ways, was from one-third to one-half as much as the total direct money expenditures.

In the past century, especially towards its close, the destruction of property in war was of course much less than it had been in previous times. International law has, theoretically at least and often in fact, made private property on land immune from seizure and destruction in war time. The Russo-Japanese war, therefore, costly and deadly as it was, resulted in comparatively small destruction of property, though at Port Arthur and in the region of the great army movements in Manchuria there was necessarily much property swept away, however careful the commanders were to observe the "laws of war." In the Philippine campaigns and the Boxer "punishments" destruction of property was large, as was the case also in the Boer war, where the "farm burnings" recalled the cruel days when nothing was sacred in the eyes of ravaging armies.

The Franco-Prussian war, the Russo-Turkish, the Crimean, the Italian, the Austro-Prussian, the Danish, the Mexican, the Opium, the British-American of 1812, and the numerous colonial wars of the century left each its sad legacy of destroyed property, the amount of which can never be calculated.

The Napoleonic wars, a hundred years ago, in which "laws of war" were not much in evidence, were immensely destructive of property. In some of the campaigns the losses through the burning of cities and the plundering done by the soldiers probably equaled, if they did not surpass, all that was paid out in money. Back of that time, through the Middle Ages and the early periods of history, when war was incessant and armies lived largely off the countries through which they passed, and sacked and pillaged cities, the destruction of property attending warfare was always very great.

It would possibly be beyond reason to say that, taking the centuries together, war has consumed in destruction of property, works of art, etc., as much as it has cost in money. But the loss in this way has been enormous, and in many directions civilization has thus been incalculably enfeebled and retarded. History justifies General Sherman's statement that "generally war is destruction and nothing else."

#### THE AFTER-COST AND INDIRECT ECONOMIC LOSS CAUSED BY WAR.

But there is still another field in which the cost of war is in the long run very much greater than the direct money expenditures and the immediate loss in destruction of property combined. The cost of a war does not stop when hostilities are over and the armies have returned home. Its burdens continue indefinitely in pensions, in interest, in prostrated business and disordered finance, in the absence from productive occupations of the men who have been destroyed, and in the heavier military burdens imposed by the preparation for future hostilities, the dread of which is left behind.

The money paid out by our government in pensions since the Civil War closed forty-two years ago, to say nothing of the cost of soldiers' homes, has already amounted to more than \$3,000,000,000. Before we are through with it we shall have paid in this way not less than \$5,000,000,000, or much more than one-half the total war expenditures, North and South. In interest on the public debt — nearly all war debt — the government has paid out during the same period not less than \$2,500,000,000. Our interest bearing debt is still \$925,000,000 in round numbers. On this the yearly interest bill is about \$25,000,000, and this interest account, decreasing of course, we shall still carry for many years. In addition to these government expenses, the States have during the same period paid out in bounties and to indigent soldiers and sailors sums aggregating probably more than \$800,000,000; Massachusetts having expended in this way about \$40,000,000 and New York over \$200,000,000.

If we should apply these calculations to the great European powers and their wars of the past century, — to Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Turkey, — we should find the after-cost of their wars in pensions, soldiers' homes and interest to be in the aggregate something fabulous. Their pension list is relatively much less than ours, for some of them do little for their broken-down soldiers. In others the care of invalid soldiers, in special homes or otherwise, makes a heavy item. But their interest account on their national debts, which again are in the main war debts, is very large. The French debt is, in round numbers, about \$6,000,000,000. The interest on this is over \$200,000,000 a year. Thus in the thirty-five years since the Franco-Prussian war, which cost her, including the \$1,000,000,000 indemnity to Germany, not less than \$3,000,000,000, she will have paid out, in interest alone, a sum from two to three times the original cost of that war, or, reckoning the interest on only the \$3,000,000,000, a sum fully equal to the cost of the war.

The nations of Europe taken together now have, and have had for a generation, war debts aggregating over \$30,000,000,000. On this they pay out annually in interest more than \$1,000,000,000, or \$35,000,000,000 since the great wars of the third quarter of the nineteenth century closed. The Boer war has increased Great Britain's debt \$800,000,000; the Russo-Japanese war the debts of the two nations some three-quarters of a billion each. Here is a new interest account to the three nations of about \$60,000,000 a year, to run on indefinitely into the future.

We must also charge to the account of the European

wars alluded to above a large part of the enormous sums spent annually in maintaining the great armaments, for these armaments have grown largely out of the jealousies, fears and hatreds engendered by the conflicts. For this maintenance of armaments Europe has spent for many years about \$1,000,000,000 per year, and is paying considerably more than that at the present time. In this direction our Spanish-Philippine war has cost us a very heavy after-bill. In 1897, just before that war came on, our army department was costing the nation \$49,000,000 annually and the navy \$35,000,000. In 1906 the war department expenditures were \$94,000,000 and those for the navy department \$111,000,000, an increase of nearly two hundred per cent. in the former and of over three hundred per cent. in the latter.

The loss occasioned by war in the derangement of business and the disordering of finance is immense, but there are almost no data for determining it. We have already alluded to Lord Granville's estimate that the indirect damage done to the United States by the Southern cruisers was over \$4,000,000,000. During that war the cotton industries of England and France suffered heavily from the cutting off of the supply of cotton, many families were bankrupted, and the operatives in the factories brought into great suffering. The general disturbance and damage to international trade by the blockading of the Southern ports, etc., was likewise immense. During the Franco-German war all trade between the two nations was arrested, and that between them and other nations was much diminished or impeded, entailing loss in many directions. When the Spanish-American war broke out in 1898 travel and trade between this country and European ports were much impaired, involving serious loss to the steamship companies and to many lines of business. The Russo-Japanese war stopped many of the freight ships between our western ports and the East. In disordered finance, as is well known, war also imposes huge losses. The wreckage of fortunes, large and small, in the great crisis of 1873, brought on by the falling and readjustment of the prices which had prevailed during and after the war, brought a very severe strain on the nation, and left multitudes of homes in distress, if not in dishonor. Something of the same economic disorder and wreckage, in one way or another, accompanies every serious war.

The economic loss to a nation through the destruction of its men in war has never been appreciated, hardly even suspected. The old, false theory that war is a blessing because it prevents surplus population has blinded men's minds to one of the very worst evils of the system. The men killed in our Civil War were nearly all young and vigorous, and of the best American blood. If they had lived they would have become the heads of families, the farmers, the craftsmen, the men of trade and commerce, the professional men of the next generation. They would have become, many of them, important factors in the opening up and development of the great untamed West. If we place the earning power of the million men, North and South, who perished in the war, at the low figure of only \$400 per man annually, the nation lost by their death \$400,000,000 per year. In forty years, therefore, which they would have lived on the average, they would have been worth to the nation the enormous sum of \$16,000,000,000. If we cut down this

amount one-half, we have still, through the perishing of these men, lost economically in forty years a sum equal to the total original cost of the war to the nation. And besides this, the offspring of these men would have continued their economic value to the nation after their death. It is startling to think what the world might have been economically at the opening of the present century if the war system could have been done away with a hundred years ago, a system of pacific settlement of disputes and of general international coöperation adopted and the 14,000,000 of young men slain in the wars of the century saved to their different countries. Their earning power, at \$300 each per year, would have been \$5,200,000,000 annually. In forty years, the average of their earning lives, they would have increased the wealth of the world by \$208,000,000,000, a sum equal to nearly twice the entire estimated wealth of the United States, and fully equal to the combined wealth of Great Britain (colonies excluded), France, Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary.

#### ANNUAL COST OF THE PRESENT "ARMED PEACE" OF THE WORLD.

The following figures, giving the annual cost of the armies and navies of the principal military and naval powers, including extraordinary expenses, are the latest official ones that can be secured. They are compiled mostly from the "Bulletin of Military Notes II," issued by the United States government in 1904:

COUNTRY.	ARMY.	NAVY.	TOTAL.
Austria-Hungary	\$66,805,617	\$10,375,433	\$77,181,050
Belgium	11,061,742		11,061,742
Bulgaria	4,662,072		4,662,072
Denmark	3,144,970	2,050,905	5,195,875
France	137,560,648	62,694,904	200,255,552
Germany	159,483,703	58,711,515	218,195,218
Great Britain	178,709,355	172,287,500	340,996,855
Greece	3,679,404		3,679,404
Italy	47,986,200	21,865,535	69,851,735
Japan (1905) exclusive of Russian war expenses)	21,000,000	16,413,063	37,413,063
Netherlands	10,808,249	6,603,510	17,211,759
Norway	4,772,418	1,236,200	6,008,618
Portugal	27,847,745	4,187,859	32,035,604
Roumania	7,509,689	254,310	7,763,999
Russia	263,939,044	92,504,992	356,444,036
Servia	3,694,868		3,694,868
Spain	35,233,940	7,188,340	42,422,280
Sweden	14,398,860	5,511,800	19,910,660
Switzerland	5,710,451		5,710,451
United States (1906) Including deficiencies, salaries, etc.)	83,663,276	116,038,805	199,702,081

#### NATIONAL DEBTS OF THE TWENTY-THREE PRINCIPAL POWERS.

From summary prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, Department of Commerce and Labor.

Argentina . . . . .	\$479,765,265
Austria-Hungary . . . . .	1,107,464,025
Belgium . . . . .	544,052,979
Brazil . . . . .	510,693,938
Chile . . . . .	107,304,151
China . . . . .	613,140,000
Denmark . . . . .	66,033,849
France . . . . .	5,856,703,403
Germany and German States . . . . .	3,296,470,400
Great Britain . . . . .	3,885,166,333
Italy . . . . .	2,560,605,000
Japan . . . . .	1,250,000,000

Mexico . . . . .	\$175,945,345
Netherlands . . . . .	463,150,904
Norway . . . . .	70,376,355
Portugal . . . . .	819,886,580
Russia (before the late war) . . . . .	3,414,061,734
(Now over four billions.)	
Spain . . . . .	2,061,389,972
Sweden . . . . .	92,833,336
Switzerland . . . . .	17,400,567
Turkey . . . . .	723,125,400
United States . . . . .	925,011,637
Venezuela . . . . .	49,335,647

If we add to this the debts of the twenty-three other powers, the total of the national debts of the world is found to be the colossal sum of \$34,633,164,406. The significance, in this connection, of this vast sum, the interest on which is over one billion dollars per year, is that practically the whole is chargeable to war and militarism.

### Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 13, 1907.

EDITOR ADVOCATE OF PEACE:

*Dear Sir:* Can you give me a little space in your valuable paper to express a wish that a Peace Temple, or something of the sort, may be established at Newport, R. I.?

It has been my good fortune for a number of years past to spend some of my vacation days at this historic resort, not so much to see the gayeties of life, but the beautiful scenery, the superb harbor, and the air of Newport combine to make surroundings that appeal strongly to the student of nature, of history or of human affairs.

As a number of foreign ambassadors usually spend the summer at Newport, it has frequently been spoken of as the summer capital.

My wish is to see purchased and turned into a Peace Temple, with proper equipment, the Maitland Villa estate, comprising a fine old mansion and some fifteen acres of ground. The price of the estate is \$20,000.

From the house there is a fine view of the harbor entrance, where one can see clearly every war vessel or pleasure yacht that comes into or out of Newport. There is a splendid grove of trees on the front lawn of the estate, with always a delightful breeze playing; also one magnificent red oak tree.

The house is reputed to have been the residence of Jay Gould at the time when he mapped out the financial plan resulting in Black Friday, so that to turn it into a more peaceful atmosphere would seem fitting and proper.

For many years the Villa has been a favorite boarding place for many families prominent in the navy, as it is

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but a short walk from the Naval College, where boys of our nation are taught the methods of naval warfare.

On the left of the harbor, and in full view of the spot where the Peace Temple would be situated, lies Fort Adams, a large military fortress, and nearby is the Torpedo Station, where the torpedoes are made for the torpedo boats, of which there are usually about a dozen at the island. In the centre of the view is Rose Island Light House, where there is a large storehouse for dynamite, gunpowder, etc.

During my visit there last season (1906) four of our large war vessels left for Manila, to be gone three years. We were told that they were worth \$32,000,000. They had over two thousand men on board, and they spent \$20,000 in Newport for provisions. To see from the Crag Drive this vast sum of money floating out to sea, and to think of the two thousand homes with one member gone from each, was indeed a very suggestive subject for the student of humankind or of Christ's gospel of "Peace on earth."

So I can conceive of no more fitting place in our country for a Peace Temple, a great and well equipped centre of peace work, than Newport.

With respect,

DAVID H. WRIGHT.

### International Arbitration and Peace Lecture Bureau, 31 Beacon Street, Boston.

The following persons may be secured to give lectures, club talks and addresses before public meetings, churches, schools and other organizations on international arbitration and peace. Those wishing their services should communicate directly with them as to dates and terms.

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